

INCENTIVES AND RESTRAINS RELATED TO THE DEVELOPMENT OF A WINE TOURISM DESTINATION: A NEW INSTITUTIONAL ECONOMICS APPROACH

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ABSTRACT

This paper aims at analysing the way institutions, under the approach of New Institutional Economics, incentivize or restrict the development of a wine tourism destination. This is a case study conducted in Vale dos Vinhedos, Rio Grande do Sul, Brazil, which is the main wine tourism destination in the country. A documental analysis was held along with interviews with 13 representative organizations (public and private) of wine and tourism sectors in the region. In the study, it was observed that wine tourism in Vale dos Vinhedos, lacks formal institutions, being solidly based on informal institutions, in other words, cultural region's patterns. Additionally, the entry of new tourism players, with a different mindset, creates conflicts and institutional pressure, especially related to land usage. It can be observed that leadership structures connected to these sectors have put effort to promote the destination. However, there is little formal institutional incentive. Thus, to solve these bottlenecks, it is recommended that the formulation of incentive policies be coherent with the informal institutional structure of the region, that they support local entrepreneurship, aiming at wine tourism dynamization in small properties, the definition of a shared destiny view and the roles of different segments of governance.

Keywords: Wine Tourism, New Institutional Economics, Institutions, Tourism Development.

JEL Classification: Z30, Z32, O43

1. INTRODUCTION

Research on wine tourism has been growing in recent decades (Getz & Brown, 2006; Alonso, Bressan, O'Shea & Krajsic, 2015; Bonn, Cho & Um, 2018) following the expansion of this activity both in countries that have a long history in wine production, and in countries that are new to wine making. However, there are still few studies that seek to identify the links between institutions and the development of wine tourism (Alonso et al., 2015; Lavandoski, Pinto, Silva & Vargas-Sánchez, 2016), allowing a promising field of research to be explored.

It is observed that there is an emerging effort among researchers to study the institutional environment of tourism (Lavandoski et al., 2016; Fong, Wong & Hong, 2018) under

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different theoretical approaches. It appears that institutional approaches can be used to explain various aspects, including: the adoption of different organizational strategies by tourism agents (Lavandoski et al., 2016; Jiang, Zhuo, Zhang & Gao, 2019); adaptive changes that transform tourist destinations (Fong et al, 2018); and institutional factors that impact tourism performance (Roxas & Chadee, 2013; Altin, Memili & Sönmez., 2017).

Although the scientific production on the theme is growing, there are still many possibilities for understanding the evolution of a tourist destination from an institutional perspective. Aiming to contribute with knowledge that helps to fill this gap, this study proposes to analyse the incentives and institutional restrictions to the evolution of wine tourism. This is an empirical study centred on the only Brazilian wine region to have the Denomination of Origin (DO) for wines, Vale dos Vinhedos, located in the state of Rio Grande do Sul.

Despite the fact that wine production is not often associated with Brazil, the country has been expanding its area of wine production. In Rio Grande do Sul, vitiviniculture is associated with Italian immigration in the 19th century and wine tourism has become an important vector of domestic tourism. Vale dos Vinhedos, specifically, received in 2016 more than 400 thousand visitors, presenting an exponential growth in the flow of tourists of about 20% per year for the last 15 years (Valduga & Minasse, 2018).

In this context, this empirical study uses New Institutional Economics (NIE) as a framework to analyse the evolution of wine tourism in a wine region. As in other institutional approaches, in NIE institutions are understood as formal and informal rules that constrain and guide human interactions (North, 1991a). Based on this premise, it focuses on the study of institutions and their interaction with organizations, affecting economic performance (Miguez, 2011). North (1991a) stresses that economic analysis must be studied over time, in a historical perspective and not only in *ceteris paribus* models.

From this conception, a historical perspective was adopted to address the evolution of: (1) informal institutions, seeking to analyse the cultural aspects of the region, which has its occupation linked to Italian immigration around 1875 (De Paris, 2006; Valduga & Minasse, 2018); (2) tourism-specific formal institutions, at the federal and municipal levels (of the municipalities that make up Vale dos Vinhedos). Considering the institutional matrix as a web, it was sought to focus both informal and formal institutions in the field of tourism, using bibliographic and documentary research to obtain the data. In-depth interviews were also conducted with 13 entities linked to wine tourism in the region, including public and private governance organizations, in order to understand their perceptions about institutional incentives and restrictions on wine tourism.

Vale dos Vinhedos is a product of the Italian immigration context of the late 19th century. Several spatial and institutional arrangements have triggered cycles of wine production, however, the tourist fuse and the qualitative leap in production only occur at the beginning of the 21st century with the recognition of the quality of its wine production, initially with a Geographical Indication (GI) in 2002 and, in 2012, with the recognition of the Appellation of Origin (AO) (Aprovale, 2020). However, although the certifications have provided economic, social and patrimonial advances, from a legal point of view several problems have taken shape. Before the certifications, Vale dos Vinhedos was only a district in the municipality of Bento Gonçalves, in the State of Rio Grande do Sul. After the certification process in 2002, Vale dos Vinhedos started to be composed by two other municipalities: Monte Belo do Sul and Garibaldi. From then on, different municipal laws on land use and occupation began to coexist. Different divisions of rural areas allowed the installation of residential condominiums in the area of the Denomination of Origin, in addition to developments that have no relation with the wine or tourism cluster, generating studies, magazine and newspaper articles (Giordani, 2013; Pioneiro, 2017).

Vale dos Vinhedos has an area of 81.23 km², with 67 enterprises from several associated areas that cooperate through Aprovale, the association of local producers (Valduga, 2012; Valduga & Minasse, 2018). Therefore, understanding the institutions that guide the behaviour of organizations in relation to tourism is essential for planning and proposing future institutional actions that regulate the development of tourist activities in an orderly and more sustainable way.

2. LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Institutional Studies in the Field of Tourism and Wine Tourism

Although institutional approaches are recurrent in the Social Sciences, there are few studies that adopt these perspectives in the field of tourism (Roxas & Chadde, 2013; Alonso et al., 2015; Lavandoski et al., 2016). However, while examining the recent bibliographic production (2015-2019), in the Scopus database, it was found that the publications that approach tourism from the institutional point of view have been increasing in the last five years, corroborating and complementing the findings of Lavandoski, Albino Silva and Vargas-Sánchez (2013). Institutional approaches are used as a basis for analysis different themes, among which stand out studies on sustainability, institutional quality and institutional arrangements (Table 1).

The analysed papers are empirical and mostly use the institutional theory framework, followed by those based on the NIE. Institutional Theory has its origins linked to the work “Foundations of the Theory of Organization” (Selznick, 1948) and has been evolving with contributions from sociology, political sciences and economics. According to this theoretical aspect, organizations have their behaviour influenced by the institutional environment in which they are involved, thus, under this paradigm, institutional theory focuses on the study of institutions and their interactions with organizations (Scott, 2013).

Table 1. Main Studies with Institutional Approaches on Tourism between 2015 to 2020

| Research Area in Tourism Studies | Institutional Framework | Authors |
|--|--|--|
| Sustainability (social and environmental) | Institutional Theory | Ambrosie (2015), Grosbois (2015), Vargas-Sánchez and Riquel-Ligero (2015), Luo, Moyle, Bao and Zong (2016), Campos, Hall and Backlund (2018), Font, Bonilla-Priego and Kantanbacher (2019), Melubo Lovelock and Filep (2019) |
| Institutional Quality | No specific institutional theoretic framework is adopted | Balli, Balli and Louis (2016), Demir and Gozgor (2019), Huang, Li, Jia and Li (2019), Paramati and Roca (2019) |
| Institutional Arrangements and Governance Structures | Institutional Theory | Knight (2018) |
| | New Institutional Economics | Qian, Sasaki, Shivakoti and Zhang (2016), Stumpf and Swanger (2017), Badola, Hussain, Dobriyal, Manral, Barthwal, Rastogi and Gill (2018) |
| Wine Tourism | Institutional Theory | Alonso, Bressan, O’Shea and Krajsic (2015), Lavandoski, Pinto, Silva and Vargas-Sánchez (2016), Lavandoski, Vargas-Sánchez, Pinto and Silva (2018) |
| Coopetition | Institutional Theory | Fong Wong and Hong (2018) |
| | New Institutional Economics | Damayanti, Scott and Ruhanen (2017) |
| Tourism Accommodation | New Institutional Economics | Jiang, Zhuo, Zhang and Gao (2019) |
| Regional envelopment | New Institutional Economics | Restrepo and Clavé (2019) |
| Tourism Policy | Institutional Theory | Estol, Camilleri and Font (2018) |
| Entrepreneurship | New Institutional Economics | Altin, Memili and Sönmez (2017) |
| Consumer Behaviour | Institutional Theory | Chaney and Martin (2016) |

Source: Own Elaboration

NIE, the framework of this study, focuses on the study of institutions and their interaction with organizations, affecting economic performance (Miguez, 2011). Its history is related to the publication of the work “The nature of the firm” (Coase, 1937), which was one of the main inspirations for the elaboration of the theoretical body that later became known as NIE (Ménard & Shirley, 2011; Miguez, 2011). This work was a reference for Oliver Williamson to propose the fundamentals of Transaction Cost Economics (TCE) and Douglass North to develop the approach on institutions and economic performance. Within the scope of the NIE, studies by Elionor Ostrom, which deal with collective action, institutional arrangements and governance of common assets, were also developed. Despite being considered a young theory, NIE studies have significantly impacted the mainstream, so that four works within this scope have been awarded Nobel prizes in the economic area in the last decades (Ménard & Shirley, 2011).

In the field of tourism, in Table 1, it is possible to verify the areas surveyed with the respective approaches adopted. Among the researches that associate institutional approaches to sustainability, it is highlighted the work of Campos et al. (2018) which use the institutional perspective to analyse how multinational tour operators deal with issues of environmental sustainability and social responsibility. Advancing in studies on social responsibility, Melubo et al. (2019) look at how institutional pressures affect the adoption of social responsibility by tourist corporations. There was no evidence of work on sustainability using the NIE approach.

Institutional quality studies are not positioned in relation to a specific theoretical approach, they are concerned with the impact of institutional indicators on the evolution of tourism. The theme of “governance and institutional arrangements” in tourism was addressed in three studies from the perspective of the NIE. Two of them were based on the institutional analysis and development framework (IAD) developed by Ostrom (2011) to analyse the effectiveness of different types of governance in community-based tourism (Qian et al., 2016) and the institutional arrangements in protected areas (Badola et al., 2018). Stumpf and Swanger (2017) relied on Williamson’s (2000) analysis of transaction costs to see how transaction costs associated with hotel ventures can be saved.

As can be seen in Table 1, there are works that explore entrepreneurship, consumer behaviour, cooptation, tourism policies, regional evolution and wine tourism. Among these works, the study by Fong et al. (2018) that examined how Macau’s tour operators adapted to the broader changes in the institutional environment, moving from a competition logic (characteristic present previously to the release of Casino games) to a logic of cooptation, adopting sharing practices of information and effecting partnerships. Likewise, observing the institutional change, Jiang et al. (2019) analysed the impact of institutions on the evolution of forms of tourist accommodation in China, evidencing a period of conflict between formal and informal institutions, with the subsequent formalization of some institutions, with an evolution in the format of accommodation, which changed from an extensive model into a sustainable format. Restrepo and Clavé (2019) analysed the role of institutions in the development of regional tourism, based on an approach that addresses the weakness of institutions.

Regarding the institutional approach to wine tourism, the work of Lavandoski et al. (2018) and Alonso et al. (2015) stand out. In an empirical study carried out on the Alentejo Wine Route, in Portugal, Lavandoski et al. (2016) showed that institutions, through norms and regulations, influence the development and organizational practices related to tourism in wineries in the region. On the one hand, they observed that institutional pressures restrict certain behaviours of wineries and encourage safer commercial practices, which facilitate transactions. On the other hand, they found that these restrictions also cause rigidity and organizational homogenization, which can hinder innovation processes in wineries.

In another study, Lavandoski et al. (2018) verified the relationship between institutional pressures and dynamic capacity with the development of tourism in wineries, showing that there are three sources of institutional pressures that simultaneously and differently influence the development of tourism in wineries: normative forces; coercive forces and mimetic forces. Both the rules of conduct, regulations and standards for managing the wine route (from Alentejo) and the ability of wineries to learn about tourism and transform knowledge internally influence the development of wine tourism in the organizational context of wineries.

From another perspective, but also using the institutional approach, Alonso et al. (2015) studied the perception of winery entrepreneurs (in Spain, Italy and New World countries) about the impacts of wine tourism legislation, noting that airport controls, laws on drunk driving and the government's coercive role, with the application of fines and other punishments in case of non-compliance with these rules, negatively impacted wine tourism purchases and experiences. In another survey conducted previously in Spain, Alonso and Liu (2012) had already shown that airport security regulations on products that can be carried in hand luggage discourage tourists from buying wines at wineries. These surveys show how intricate the institutional structure of contemporary society is, with institutions that cause externalities in several ways.

Finally, it appears that, on the one hand, the analysis of institutional evolution is increasingly used to explain growth and results of different policy applications between regions (Restrepo & Clavé, 2019). On the other hand, institutional evolution (which includes legislative and political interventions) has not been thoroughly examined in wine tourism (Alonso et al., 2015), therefore knowing the institutional evolution linked to tourism can be an important point to understand the development of wine tourism regions.

2.2 New Institutional Economics Fundamental Concepts

In order to clarify the theoretical perspective adopted in this research, the fundamental concepts of the NIE, in its macro-institutional aspect, will be exposed. A first point to be clarified is that institutions are understood as “the rules of the game in a society or, more formally, are the humanly devised constraints that shape human interaction (North, 1991a: 3). In this perspective, institutions appear and are being improved over the evolution of societies, as a way for humans to deal with the uncertainty of social, economic and political interactions. That is, based on the assumption that the environment in which agents operate is uncertain, societies develop institutions, with the intention of minimizing these uncertainties, guiding the agents' economic, social and political interactions (North, 1991b). Such concept of institutions, proposed by North (1991a), is widely accepted and recurrent in the literature. In addition to this understanding, there is a general understanding that institutions are fundamental to explain the economic performance of groups and societies (Kalmanovitz, 2003). Essentially, institutions include the following aspects: (1) formal restrictions, which may be laws, rules, property rights, contracts; (2) informal restrictions, covering traditions, beliefs, behavioural and cultural patterns; and, (3) enforcement, that is, mechanisms to enforce contracts and laws (North, 1991a).

Formal, informal and enforcement institutions, together, configure the institutional matrix of a society, which is understood as: “an interconnected web that in various combinations shapes choice sets in various contexts” (North, 1991a: 67). It is the institutional matrix that, together with the standard restrictions of economic theory, determine opportunities, defining the incentives for the emergence of organizations. Since institutions are the rules of the game, organizations (economic, political, social), similarly, are the players, as North (1991a: 4-5) explains: “The purpose of the rules is to define the way the game is played. But

the objective of the team within that set of rules is to win the game - by a combination of skills, strategy, and coordination; by fair means and sometimes by foul means”.

Organizations are seen as agents of change, which arise within a certain institutional context and insofar as they realize that they could have better results, restructuring exchanges, they mobilize resources to change the institutional structure and reassure rights (North, 1991a). In this sense, the institutional environment influences the structuring of organizations and, simultaneously, organizations influence the institutional matrix. The process of institutional change is complex and incremental, and may be the result of changes in rules or informal and formal restrictions, or even ineffectiveness in enforcing the rules (North, 1991a, 2005). Formal institutions can change more abruptly and informal ones tend to be more impermeable and are often the key to understanding path dependence, that is, “the way by which institutions and beliefs derived in the past influence present choices” from individuals and organizations (North, 2005: 21).

Thus, path dependence is another fundamental concept for understanding institutional dynamics, demonstrating that inefficient solutions can persist over time. For North (1994), learning creates path dependence on ideas, ideologies and institutions. A concept learned by an individual, which is useful to explain the world, is more likely to persist in your mental model, even if it is not efficient, implying path dependence. Therefore, path dependence is not equivalent to inertia, but to the restrictions on the choice of the present resulting from past experiences (North, 2005). As such, path dependence plays a crucial role in institutional flexibility.

Another important aspect, exposed by North (1991a), is that institutions are not created to be socially efficient, at least formal ones, but instead created to serve the interests of those with better bargaining conditions to structure new laws. So, the institutional matrix that influences transactions is composed of rules that promote the maximization of opportunities and others that promote barriers to entry, encouraging monopolistic restrictions and preventing the flow of information at a lower cost, influencing both transaction costs and of production. Thus, the institutional matrix imposes severe restrictions on the set of choices of entrepreneurs when they seek to innovate or modify institutions in order to improve their economic or political positions (North, 2005), incurring high costs for their change.

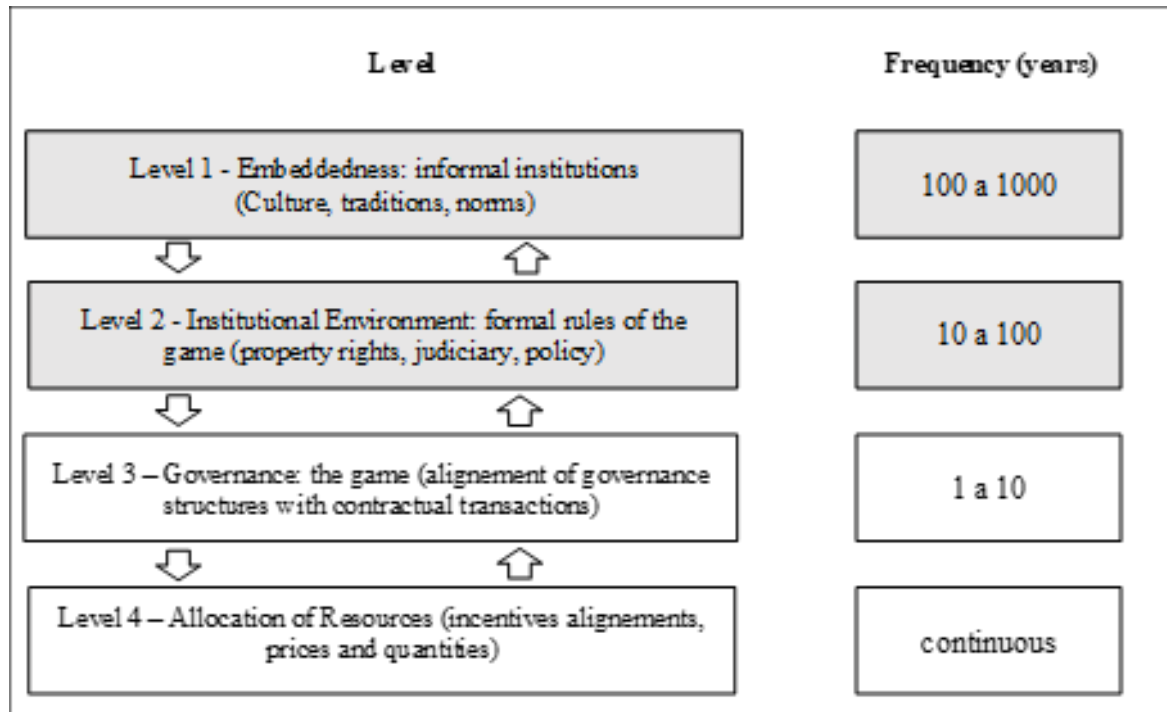
Furthermore, given the variety of institutions and possible interactions that make up the institutional matrix, its structure is stable, that is, it is not a single institutional change that will cause the matrix to change. Institutional change takes effect based on incremental change in the long run: changing a standard, combining modifying a convention and so on (North, 1991a). Hence, the importance of the historical perspective and of an expanded institutional analysis to understand institutional dynamics and economic performance.

3. METHODOLOGY

The methodological design of the research was based on the theoretical perspective of the New Institutional Economics, more specifically the study of the institutions of Douglass North (1991), which directs to carry out a historical analysis that enables the understanding of institutional change over a period. Williamson (2000) outlines the levels of analysis of the NIE in four segments according to the theoretical approach adopted (Figure 1), indicating the times when institutional change occurs. The first level comprises the customs, tradition, culture, religion of a people. At this level, institutional changes take time to occur, ranging from 100 to 1000 years. At the second level, there are formal rules through constitutions, laws and rules, in which changes occur more quickly, ranging from 10 to 100 years. The third level covers the governance of transactions, in which contracts and their safeguards are

analysed. At this level, change can take between 1 and 10 years to happen. The fourth level deals with the different ways of allocating resources and the most efficient way to allocate them, so that change happens continuously (Williamson, 2000).

Figure 1. Analytical Level of New Economics Institutions



Source: Adapted from Williamson (2000: 597)

By focusing on the legislation relevant to tourism at the federal and municipal levels, as well as on the cultural standards of the studied region, the institutional analysis proposed in the present work is located at levels 1 and 2 of the Williamson (2000) model. Thus, different data collection strategies were adopted to obtain information related to each level. Data on informal institutions (Level 1) were obtained through bibliographic research and semi-structured interviews on historical and cultural aspects of the region. For the research of formal institutions at the federal level, the legislative research tool available on the website of the Parliament was used, comprising the historical outline from 1934 to 2019. Concerning the research on formal institutions in the municipalities of Bento Gonçalves, Garibaldi and Monte Belo do South, the Municipal Laws⁶ portal was searched.

For the legislative search, the keyword “tourism” was used as a parameter in the ordinary laws and municipal decrees and as a parameter for the date of publication until 2019. Complementary data were obtained in documents provided by the Municipal Tourism Departments of the municipalities surveyed. The selected documents were tabulated and categorized into themes. The analysis of the most relevant legislation was done individually, based on the interpretation of its texts.

In addition to documentary research, semi-structured interviews were conducted with representatives of organizations (public and private) that are directly or indirectly involved in the development of wine tourism in Vale dos Vinhedos. The organizations were mapped and selected through bibliographic research and field observation. In total, 13 organizations were interviewed: Aprovale (Association of Fine Wine Producers of Vale dos Vinhedos); Atuaserra (Serra Nordeste Tourism Association); Ibravin (Brazilian Wine Institute);

⁶ Through this website (LeisMunicipais.com.br), City Halls and Chambers from Brazil make available the laws of their municipality.

Segh (Business Union of Gastronomy and Hospitality - Grape and Wine Region); Bento Gonçalves Tourism Secretariat; Garibaldi Department of Tourism; Secretariat of Culture and Tourism of Monte Belo do Sul; Bento Gonçalves Municipal Tourism Council (Comtur - BG); Municipal Council of Tourism of Garibaldi (Comtur - Garibaldi); Municipal Council for Historical, Artistic, Cultural, Development and Sustainable Tourism of Monte Belo do Sul - Comphacdtur; Aenotur (International Wine Tourism Association); Embrapa Uva e Vinho (Brazilian Agricultural Research Company); Sebrae (Brazilian Service of Support to Micro and Small Enterprises). The interviews sought to identify the perception of these organizations about institutional incentives and restrictions and the existence of shared norms and values about wine tourism.

The interviews were conducted from May to August 2019 and the documental research from March 2019 to January 2020. Each interview was audio-recorded and then transcribed. These interviews and law/policy documents were imported into the qualitative data analysis software NVivo12. All data were open coded to identify patterns and categorize key themes. By analysing the collected data and theoretical concepts, the categories and nodes that emerged after condensing the initial codes can be seen in Table 1. Working across these data and comparing the results with literature review, the authors recognized the institutions that affected the development of wine tourism in the target region.

Table 2. Categories and Codes of Institutions

| Categories | Codes |
|-----------------------|--|
| Informal Institutions | Italian immigration culture; cooperative behaviour; competitive behaviour; entrepreneurship; family and hard work; mimetic learning; collective action |
| Formal Institutions | Tourism federal laws; tourism municipal laws; tourism policy; land use laws; tax laws; drink driving laws; luggage law; labour laws; civil associations; public investments; rural infrastructure. |

Source: Own Elaboration

4. RESULTS

The following are the research results divided into two axes, the first one dealing with the informal institutional environment, that is, the cultural context in which wine tourism has emerged and has evolved, and the second with formal tourism institutions at the level of the municipalities that make up the Vale dos Vinhedos, entering the federal institutional context in which they are immersed, analysing how this network of institutions encourages and restricts tourism, as well as the problems that need formal regulation to be confronted.

4.1 Informal Institutions - Wine Culture and Tradition in Vale dos Vinhedos

Vale dos Vinhedos is immersed in an ethno-cultural context predominantly of Italian descent and which involves more than 30 municipalities colonized after the immigration that took place at the end of the 19th century. The immigration process took place in the midst of the Italian crisis, hunger and misery, in addition to the process of replacing slave labour, during the Brazilian imperial government, and the need to produce food for the emerging urban centres (Luchese & Caprara, 2001).

The process of settling immigrants took into account cultural and territorial elements of their origins, with a focus on religiosity, agricultural actions in which there was a mastery of techniques (such as winemaking) and Brazilian state and institutional support in these settlements, endowing these spaces technical means to promote agricultural activities.

The viticulture had previous expressions in the country, however, the productive specialization and commercial expansion started from the Italian immigration from 1875 and that ended up making Vale dos Vinhedos and its productive surroundings references in the wine production and wine tourism in the country (Valduga, 2014). A wide range of institutions has allowed advances in the process of anchoring viticulture, from a wide cooperative wine movement that has lasted since the early 20th century to research institutions such as Embrapa Uva Vinho and regional management and tourism governance such as Atuaserra, which involves 26 municipalities and that was the first instance of regional governance in tourism in Brazil, operating since 1985 (Salvagni, Valduga & Nodari, 2016).

Among the cultural aspects indicated in the interviews and converging with the literature (Farias, 2016) that were important for the development of viticulture and wine tourism, the following stand out: the valorisation of work, entrepreneurship and learning by imitation. The Italian immigrant is perceived as a good worker and entrepreneur, according to the following statements:

So, there are ways of acting that we have that are very interesting, as I said here, everyone is thirsty to undertake. (Interviewee 1, 2019)

Another cultural matter, the moment we get here, the vein of entrepreneurship. We have in our blood the thing of undertaking, not settling down, seeking solutions, self-renewing. So much so that we have a CNPJ⁷ in Bento for every 10 inhabitants. We have 120 thousand inhabitants and more than 12 thousand CNPJs. (Interviewee 7, 2019)

I believe that this is a very strong cultural factor, the difficulty they had and what they undertook, success as an entrepreneur. (Interviewee 13, 2019)

In the view of Denzau and North (1994), individuals with common environmental and cultural experiences will share similar ideologies, institutions and mental models. Those who have different experiences and learning processes will interpret problems from other points of view, generating different choices. That said, there is evidence that the mental models shared by Vale dos Vinhedos organizations prioritize work and entrepreneurship, crucial aspects for the emergence of small wineries with subsequent wine tourism offer.

This appreciation of work is often linked to the devaluation of formal State institutions, which demonstrates the lack of confidence in the country's laws and policies: "[...] they work with a very strong and obstinate focus to achieve this result, so independent of the state, independent of state policy, government policy, politics [...]" (Interviewee 2, 2019).

Another interesting cultural aspect, which says a lot about the "way of doing" in the region, is the path dependence on learning and innovation by imitation. In the interviewees' statements, expressions such as "the Neighbour's grass is always greener" and "good envy" are recurrent to designate the process of seeing what the competitor is doing, its innovations and offers.

there is another side that may be a little tougher, how can I reinvent myself without simply copying the neighbour? In recent times it is a little better, but before it was: "the neighbour is selling pancakes, great, it's packed, so I'm going to sell pancakes too", so I think this has a little more maturity and is what you have to take care of. I think it's something that you have to take care of. And it is a little more difficult culturally, "but I always did it like this, grandma did it like

⁷ In Brazil "CNPJ" is the register that all legal entities are required to register before starting their activities.

that, my mother did it like this”, so this is something we have to ... And there will always be someone who does it first, isn't it? Obvious, but you don't have to look and copy, do you? (Interviewee 4, 2019)

In addition to these aspects, there is a paradoxical relationship between collective work and individualism, which indicates some form of cooptation that is part of the regional culture. On the one hand, according to Santos (1978), there are many reports of cooperation by immigrants to build churches, schools and open roads. Community solidarity extended to agriculture and, over time, collective action had notorious merit in the development of the region (Salvagni et al., 2016). On the other hand, the strong competition between the companies of Vale dos Vinhedos, mainly with regard to the production of quality wines, is perceived as a factor of development by all interviewees, at the same time that there is consensus on the existence of a union of forces, when this is necessary.

Institutionalised collective action, linked to the development of wine tourism in Vale dos Vinhedos, has its origins related to changes in formal institutions of the 1990s, the most notable being: demand for compliance with the Paris Convention and openness to Mercosur imports (Falcade, 2011). Such changes generated a crisis in the wine sector that resulted in the decline of large companies and the appearance of small wineries that created *Aprovale*, with the intention of joining efforts in search of qualification of wine production and promotion of tourism (*Aprovale*, 2020), in a cooptative logic. According to Fong et al. (2018) critical events in the institutional environment have a cumulative effect on the logic of cooptation, that is, the change in formal rules impacts organizations, which need to change their behaviour patterns (informal institutions) to adapt to the new rules of the game, then there is a cumulative institutional change (North, 1991a).

That said, in the process of concluding the analysis of informal institutions, it appears that the cultural patterns and beliefs of organizations in that territory played an encouraging role in the development of wine tourism in Vale dos Vinhedos. The entrepreneurial characteristics and obstinacy for work made it possible to boost tourist activity in the face of a crisis in the wine sector. On the other hand, the expansion of the tourism supply, with the increase in the number of wineries that offer visits and tastings, and the exponential increase in restaurants, reflect a path dependence on an innovative process in which small wineries “copy” the process of the largest (Farias, 2016). Such finding is in convergence with the literature (Benson-Rea et al., 2011; Lavandoski et al., 2018) which indicate that mimetic forces influence the development of wine tourism by wineries.

4.2 Formal Institutions and Wine Tourism

Wine tourism, in Vale dos Vinhedos, develops in a geographical space located in areas of three municipalities: Bento Gonçalves, Garibaldi and Monte Belo do Sul. In this way, the legislative framework of these municipalities impacts on the development of wine tourism. Valduga and Minasse (2018) classify the stages of evolution of wine tourism in Brazil into four phases: (1) the first phase, spontaneous, started in the 1920s with the installation of the railway and the search for a mild climate for summer. (2) The 2nd phase (1930-1970) was marked by tourism and bureaucratization, with the creation of major events related to wine making and the dissemination of wine as a cultural and tourist identity product in the region. (3) In the 3rd phase (1970-2000) the organization of tourist activities and the transition from the cooperative model to a model of small family wineries took place. (4) The 4th stage, which started in the 2000s, refers to wine tourism linked to the qualification of wine production and solidification of Geographical Indications, with diversification of the offer with the promotion of wine tourism experiences.

Taking these phases as a reference, a scheme was elaborated summarizing the main formal institutions of each phase (Table 2). It was found that in the 1st phase, not only in the municipalities but also in Brazil, the theme of tourism was not addressed at a formal institutional level, since the first references to tourism in Brazilian legislation date from the 1930s, with specific actions, among which stands out the creation of the Tourism Division (Carvalho, 2016). It was only in the 2nd phase that the municipalities of Bento Gonçalves and Garibaldi had their first legislation on tourism. In 1957, Garibaldi was a precursor in the state of Rio Grande do Sul to create a Municipal Tourism Council, whose duties included carrying out a tourist inventory, organizing a tourist calendar and proposing festivities aimed at attracting tourists (Fávero, 2006). In Bento Gonçalves a “tourism tax” was instituted to promote summer tourism, in 1959. In 1965, the Municipal Tourism Council of the municipality was created, with the same duties as the Garibaldi council, with a mimetic pattern among the municipalities being evident. In addition to the creation of the Councils, at that time there was the establishment of specific laws on tax exemption for hotel buildings and changes in the composition of the Municipal Councils.

The creation of tourism councils in the municipalities occurred at the same juncture as the bureaucratization of tourism at the federal level, with rules that defined the national tourism policy (PNT), created the National Tourism Council (CNTur) and Embratur (Brazilian Tourism Company). This decree provided the CNTur’s task to develop, coordinate and direct the national tourism policy. Embratur was responsible for promoting the development of tourism and implementing the guidelines set by the government (Decree-Law 55/1966). In that decree, there were provisions on tax incentives and financing for tourism projects, converging with the municipal tax incentive laws created in the period. Thus, it is possible to affirm that the first regulatory framework that in fact attempted to propose some type of regulation for the development of tourism in the country dates from the late 1960s and early 1970s.

In the 3rd phase (1970-2000), the federal institutional context had important advances. In 1971, the General Tourism Fund (Fungetur) was created, with the purpose of promoting and providing resources for the financing of tourism projects. This measure was of great importance for the implementation of tourism infrastructure in the country, especially with regard to the accommodation structure (Araújo & Taschner, 2012) and the municipality of Bento Gonçalves, in 1981, benefited from Fungetur’s investment for the construction of a structure linked to Fenavinho⁸. In Brazil, during the 1970s, rules were also established that provided for the definition of areas of tourist interest and the inventory of goods of cultural and natural value for tourism purposes, and that established conditions for an activity to be considered tourism, creating the obligation to register with Embratur.

⁸ Bento Gonçalves wine festival.

Table 3. Formal institutions in the different phases of wine tourism evolution in Vale dos Vinhedos

| Wine Tourism Phases | Formal Institutions | | | |
|---|--|--|--|--|
| | Brazil | Bento Gonçalves | Garibaldi | Monte Belo do Sul |
| 1 ^a Phase (1920-1930) - Spontaneous Tourism | — | — | — | — |
| 2 ^a Phase (1930-1970) Touristification and Bureaucratization | Tourism Division Embratur and CNTur National Tourism Policy | Tourism tax Comtur Tax Exemptions | Comtur Commissioned position of secretary Tax Exemptions | — |
| 3 ^a Phase (1970-2000) Transition | Fungetur Areas of tourist interest and conditions for tourist services 1 st PNT PNMT National tourism policy | Operation with Fungetur Atuaserra affiliation Creation of the Vale dos Vinhedos District Events calendar New Comtur Tourism secretary | Tax Exemptions Tourism secretary Atuaserra affiliation Tourist activities as a priority interest Events calendar | Creation of the municipality Atuaserra affiliation |
| 4 ^a Phase (2000 – present time) Wine tourism anchored in the recognition of production qualification | Creation of Mtur PNT (2003-2007 / 2007-2010 / 2010-2016 / 2018-2022) General Tourism Law Tourism Regionalization Program | Aprovale -Comtur member Technical position in tourism Master Plans Municipal Tourism Plans | Technical position in tourism Master plan Municipal Tourism Plans Comtur Rules Approve as a member of Comtur | Secretariat of Culture and Tourism Master plan Municipal Tourism Plan Comphacdtur |

Source: Own elaboration, based on Valduga and Minasse (2018) stages of evolution of wine tourism in Brazil

In legislative terms, the 1980s were marked by the promulgation of the Federal Constitution in 1988, a moment of great importance in the country’s institutional history. With this, tourism was legitimized as a factor of economic and social development, being the object of promotion and incentive by all levels of government (Union, States and Municipalities). According to Maranhão (2017), this guideline to encourage tourism, as a promoter of economic and social development, is linked to the panorama of the “lost decade”, typical of the 1980s, when Brazil faced a period of economic fragility and sought new alternatives for income generation and the country’s economic growth.

The 1990s are considered a watershed (Carvalho, 2016; Maranhão, 2017) in the management and organization of tourism, with the creation of a set of rules that provide guidelines and seek to organize the sector. First, Embratur was restructured and CNTur ended, and in 1992, the first National Tourism Plan - Plantur (1992-1994) was launched. Another institutional advance of that time was the regulation of the tourist guide profession. In 1994, the publication of the National Program for the Municipalization of Tourism (PNMT) stands out, aiming at the decentralization of the activity. Then, in 1996, the National Tourism Policy 1996/1999 was published and with it a set of guidelines and programs.

Within municipalities, this period was also marked by small advances in the institutional structure of tourism. Perhaps the most important, from the perspective of tourism, is the creation of Atuaserra, in 1985, with 11 municipalities as partners, including Garibaldi and Bento Gonçalves. The entity aimed, among other objectives: to act in the tourism promotion of the municipalities; to promote the improvement of working methods; to encourage exchanges with other bodies. Currently, Atuaserra involves 26 municipalities and is a reference in the country, since it was the first instance of regional tourism governance in tourism in Brazil (Salvagni et al., 2016). It is also worth mentioning the creation of specific bodies to deal with tourism in the municipalities of Bento Gonçalves and Garibaldi, with the creation and structuring of the municipal tourism secretariats, during this period.

Two other institutional events, not specific to tourism, but which directly affected the shaping of Vale dos Vinhedos, were: the emancipation of Monte Belo do Sul from the municipality of Bento Gonçalves, becoming a municipality in 1992; and the creation of the Vale dos Vinhedos district, in Bento Gonçalves, in 1990.

Table 1 shows the phases of wine tourism in Vale dos Vinhedos and the respective formal institutions of the municipalities. In the local and private sphere, it was in the 1990s that Aproveale was created. And, it is from there that this organization will, with the support of Embrapa Uva e Vinho, seek recognition for the quality of wine production, in a process that culminates with the Geographical Indication in 2002 and, in 2012, with the recognition of the Appellation of Origin (Aproveale, 2020), giving the contours for the 4th and current phase of wine tourism in Vale dos Vinhedos.

The 4th phase of wine tourism, in terms of planning this activity in the country, is marked by the creation of the Ministry of Tourism (Mtur) in 2003. Despite this, the management of the agency has shown weaknesses, with the exchange of ministers and little representation politics (Maranhão, 2017). With the creation of Mtur, the National Tourism Plan (PNT, 2003-2007), which guided the way in which tourism would be treated by the State in the coming decades, since the PNTs that followed it maintained the logic of decentralization, with proposals of tourism regionalization. Among the programs proposed in the PNT (2003-2007), the following stand out: Regional Development Program; Integrated Routes Program; Standardization Program for Tourism Activity; Professional Qualification Program (Mtur, 2003). The implementation of these programs was important in continuing the strategy of decentralizing the tourism operationalization, proposing arrangements at the regional level and defining regions through the creation of the Brazilian Tourist Map. Within this scope, the Encosta da Serra do Nordeste region, which was already organized through Atuaserra, consolidated its position as “Grape and Wine Region”. This positioning clearly brought benefits to Vale dos Vinhedos, with synergies between the two brands that are based on the cultural wine product.

At the end of the 2000s, more precisely in 2008, the General Tourism Law was approved. This law added relative norms that were dispersed in the legislation, outlining parameters for the planning, incentive and development of the tourism sector. Among the advances in this legislation, there is the institution of the National Tourism System, the regulation on registration (Cadastur), classification and inspection of tourism service providers. In these institutions, a more rigid and restrictive posture in relation to the tourist services provided was evidenced, in order to guide the planning and qualification of the offer (Carvalho, 2016). PNT (2007-2010), in the scope of regionalization, innovated in focusing on tourism-inducing destinations. A study was carried out, mapping destinations capable of boosting the territory's economy and distributing tourists to its surroundings. Bento Gonçalves was one of the three municipalities selected in the state of Rio Grande do Sul, among the 65 inductive destinations in Brazil. According to the interviewees involved with tourism management in the municipality, “Destinos Indutores” was an important planning and development tool, with the provision of training, consultancy and monitoring by the federal government. According to interviewee 2, participation in “Destinos Indutores” brought institutional pressure to formulate a municipal tourism plan to guide and plan the actions developed by the municipality.

The first Bento Gonçalves Municipal Tourism Plan was developed in an integrated manner, with the participation of the tourist trade using Mtur methodology. Vale dos Vinhedos was positioned as an attractive anchor for Bento Gonçalves and actions were proposed to improve the destination. The plan was updated for the 2015-2018 period and, in 2019, it was in the process of being reworked. In Garibaldi, the first Tourism Plan dates back to 2013. In 2014 it was re-elaborated with effect until 2018, being in the process of

being updated in 2019. Monte Belo do Sul already had two tourism planning documents, the first elaborated in 2009 that predominantly was not put into practice and the second in 2017, which has been effective since then.

It should be noted that despite Vale dos Vinhedos being an attractive anchor of the three municipalities, Aprovale, which is its main representative body, only participated in the construction of the Bento Gonçalves municipality plans, with no evidence of its participation in the plans of the other municipalities. Likewise, there is a greater connection between Aprovale and Bento Gonçalves tourism, since the entity has been part of the municipality's Comtur since 2001. In Garibaldi, it was only in 2018 that Aprovale became part of Comtur and until this research was carried out, an associative entity was not part of the Monte Belo do Sul council. Considering that in the institutional dynamics, organizations make the move to change or not to change the institutions (North, 1991a), it is problematic that Aprovale does not participate in this standardization process.

It was verified that the elaboration of tourism plans by the municipalities and organization of councils has been encouraged by Atuaserra, within the context of the strategy of regionalization of adopted by Mtur some years ago. Among the federal investment programs in tourism that the region was contemplated with, it is highlighted the choice of the city of Bento Gonçalves as a cultural destination during the World Cup and currently the participation of Bento Gonçalves and Garibaldi, along with other cities in the Serra Gaúcha, at Investe Turismo, a program launched in 2019 to encourage consolidated itineraries. In addition, in the 2000s, positions of tourism technicians were created in the municipalities of Bento Gonçalves and Garibaldi, seeking to professionalize the activities of the tourism departments.

In broader institutional terms that directly affected wine tourism, the City Statute (Law 10.257/2001) delegated to the Municipal Master Plans the role of regulating the ordering of land use in municipalities. Thus, the three municipalities have specific legislation to regulate land use in urban and rural areas. Despite these regulations that seek, at first, to restrict the disordered urban development, the problems related to the occupation and transformation of land use in the Vale dos Vinhedos space have increased over the years (Giordani, 2013). Bento Gonçalves had its first master plan institutionalized in 2006, and the second in 2018. Both contemplated issues related to the tourist vocation of Vale dos Vinhedos, however, the elaboration of these plans is surrounded by a lot of pressure from real estate investment organizations, with a game of forces that does not always result in efficient formal institutions, since the norms are created to serve the interests of those with greater bargaining power (North, 1991a).

In addition, there is the impact of the master plans of Garibaldi and Monte Belo do Sul in the Vale Vinhedos area, with different views and provisions on land use. As, for example, Garibaldi's master plan, which allows the implementation of horizontal condominiums in the Vale dos Vinhedos, despite considering the area an area of tourist interest and transition between the urban and the rural areas. According to the interviewees, there is no articulation between the three municipalities in thinking and developing integrated norms and with a common vision for this territory, which, in the medium and long term, is causing the reduction of the area dedicated to vineyards, impacting the wine landscape that is one of the main attractions of the region.

There is a great lack of characterization of the landscape, what the tourist expects to see and what he finds. I've been with journalists who arrived in front of Vila Michelin who asked when Vale dos Vinhedos started, because until then you don't see anything, you only see signs, buildings. [...] if there is no plan

for the Valley, disorder is created because it is a little bit of each municipality. (Interviewee 8, 2019)

Thus, it is evident that the restrictions on land use and standardization of tourist activity have not been sufficient to contain the disorderly land occupation, and may cause serious problems in maintaining tourist attractiveness in the long run.

5. CONCLUSION

This study examined the institutional incentives and restrictions to the evolution of wine tourism in Vale dos Vinhedos. The findings reveal that tourism in Vale dos Vinhedos is an activity derived from a development process of a wine region that has its foundations in cultural and legal aspects linked to Italian immigration that occurred in the late 19th century. Family and hard work; entrepreneurship, collective action and cooperative logic are informal institutions that encouraged the development of tourism in this territory and made possible its consolidation as the main wine tourism destination in Brazil.

With regard to formal institutions specific to tourism, the Brazilian trajectory is recent, with less than 100 years of history. The normalization of tourism in the municipalities that make up Vale dos Vinhedos is even newest, dating from the end of the 1950s. Despite the existence of formal institutions prior to the 1990s, they were punctual and focused on establishing administrative structures and defining basic precepts tourism, not providing a guiding framework capable of guiding the development of this activity in the country.

From the 1990s onwards, a new institutional framework focused on decentralization and regionalization began to take shape and gradually evolved. However, this institutional body that normalizes tourism is still incipient. The lack of more specific regulations often results in the restriction of tourism development, since the absence of institutions that guide economic interactions affects transaction costs. In addition, the lack of regulations encourages a disorderly development that in the long run can make tourism activity unfeasible.

In the last 20 years, there has been important institutional changes with new rules about land use and tourism planning. Since then, local and regional tourism governance associations, as well as public agencies, have been promoting tourism. However, due to the limited coordination and integration between the municipalities that are part of the Vale dos Vinhedos, there are discontinuities between the master plans and tourist plans that order this territory. In addition, the growing use of rural space for tourism purposes, with the entry of new players, may scale conflicts about mass tourism and inappropriate use of resources.

Although formal institutions had been created and adopted at municipal levels, it is questionable whether these actions and policies can encourage responsible tourism growth. These institutions are not stable enough and often reflect the interests of organizations with greater bargaining power. In the absence of strong formal institutions, informal institutions end up prevailing in the way of coordinating and developing wine tourism in the region, strongly based on the mimetic process.

Obviously, future analyses may be necessary to check the restrictions and incentives of institutions that are not specific to tourism, but can directly impact its development, including: labour, tax and security laws, such as drink-driving law. Finally, it is highlighted that this research contributes to the discussion on the role of institutions in the development of tourism activity, an approach that has been growing in the recent literature on tourism.

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